

THE LABOUR ORGANISER

No. 96

JUNE, 1929.

Price 4d.

THE DAWN AND THE DAY

AGAIN—FORTH THE BANNERS GO!

GENERAL ELECTION RESULT, 1929.

Labour	...	...	...	288
Conservative	...	...	...	260
Liberal	...	...	...	58
Others	...	...	...	9
Total	...	...	...	615

It was one of the pioneers—one of the real pioneers whose work for Socialism goes back over thirty years—who wrote us the other day that now he felt his life's work done. Two hundred and eighty-eight Labour members in the House, a Labour Government—eight million odd votes for Socialism, it all seemed too good to be true; at any rate the goal seemed so near that our old comrade felt his life's work was over.

Not so old friend, for to-day is the dawn; the evening is far off. Much as we acclaim the recent result the plain truth is that a stiffer battle, and a sterner preparation for it lies ahead than any yet; and the present is only the calm before the storm.

The Labour Government has already had its instructions both from friends and opponents. How far it can carry them out, or how much it can do before the inevitable appeal to the country hardly concerns us as the organ of the organisers. This much we know, *we* have done our best to give them opportunity, and they in turn by their record will do *their* best to give us opportunity to make the next fight a decisive one. Meantime all is preparation.

And in the coming preparation the tactics of war may have to be altered. At any rate it is just possible our recent tactics may not be the best for the next contest, and in presenting the problem we pass no opinion on it.

On our recent extended front we lost thirty-five deposits, and the total

votes recorded in these seats hardly affected the mandate. That money and the effort may be needed elsewhere next time, and conceivably this policy may be decided upon without any intention of abandoning these seats to the enemy.

The big problem in the next contest, so far as it appears now, will be to retain the large number of seats gained in the luck of the triangle. That the tactics of our two opponents may decide the issue in some of these places is without a doubt; but in all of them greater attention to organisation and better financial preparation can do much to secure the gains that have been achieved.

And beyond these there are a number of seats narrowly missed—actually sufficient, if won, to have secured a clear majority in the House. Defeat in many of these places was by no means the result of ill-luck in the triangle. There was no triangle in West Birmingham. In these seats some extra effort is needed, here propaganda, there organisation and in another place, money.

The problem that emerges is whether the Party's resources in view of a quickly-coming election are best employed on a temporary return to the older policy of concentration or whether they shall be deployed once again on the same wide front, while our enemies pierce our weaknesses.

The answer is for others to give.

PHOTO BLOCKS

THE BEST HOUSE
IN THE TRADE

SPECIMENS FREE

GRAPHIC ENGRAVERS Ltd.
RUPERT STREET, BRISTOL

MEETINGS AND METHOD

WITH SOME HINTS ON PUBLICITY.

An old comrade whose opinion we value highly, recently suggested to us an article urging more method in the organisation of public meetings. Our friend criticised the lack of originality and the poor publicity methods too often displayed in meeting campaigns; also the management of the meetings themselves and the general arrangements concerning them.

While we agree that the publicity methods of most Parties need considerable improvement we shall not suggest in this article that either candidates or secretaries should follow the example once set by the veteran comrade whose criticisms we repeat above, when on a famous occasion he rode astride a cock-horse right into the meeting hall and so drew an audience without a penny being spent in advertising.

The scene occurred many years ago at Liverpool during some great revival services. The crowd which had been attracted by street meetings and processions night after night simply would not come into the hall at the finish to receive the benefits which we have no doubt were there in plenty for them. So one night after a grand procession and a thorough combing out of the highways and hedges the crowd was induced to follow the band plus our hero on horseback. Had he dismounted outside the hall there is no doubt the crowd would have done as before and simply disperse. Therefore the big idea.

Away went our comrade and the gee-gee up the steps and clump, clump, clump through the aisle. The crowd was drawn in much as the peeping sergeant was almost drawn through the keyhole by Blatchford's scrumptious girl. The hall was packed all right, and we hope the benefits were duly dispensed. Indeed, we have no doubt they were, though we have been told that it was a trifle embarrassing to carry on with the gee-gee clumping and coverting around in the vestry.

* * *

That publicity methods for meetings are less satisfactory than they might be can be explained in some instances by the eager desire of the public to hear our speakers. What matter, think our friends, if the hall can be filled without

a big effort — a point of view which entirely overlooks the influence of publicity on those who do *not* attend the meeting, and the possibility of drawing fresh audiences. It is urged that a star speaker hardly needs advertising; and the difficulty becomes one of finding a hall big enough. But, we reflect, how often are our star speakers engaged in addressing packed demonstrations of convinced supporters? The wonderful unanimity of great demonstrations is all very well if one regards star speakers in the same light as star turns at the theatre, and as being a special form of entertainment for one's patrons. It is strange to reflect that some of the best known speakers in the Labour Movement whose names will collect every Labour supporter and pack a huge hall, are yet unknown to masses of the electorate. Is it sufficient to fill a hall? Is not better publicity worth while to get in more of the unconverted?

At election times publicity methods often suffer simply because the barest announcement of a meeting means a packed hall. But it is not unreasonable once again to examine the audience. Who packs the halls? At most elections it is the enthusiastic supporters of the candidates in whose interests the meetings have been called. There remains a great phlegmatic remainder among the electors unreachd by the announcements and untouched by the appeals. Yet is it not these that one would wish to reach?

So, having stressed the values of publicity, we may point out the right and wrong way. No publicity for a meeting is sufficient which doesn't seek

PENCILS!!!

Ah! the very thing. Advertise coming events profitably. Pencils with special imprints for Bazaars, Election and Branch Funds—for samples (2d.) write

SIMON BIRKBECK, Keswick

to reach beyond the converted and get at the wavering sections of the electorate. For a country meeting posted duplicated circulars to each elector secures this; for a town meeting the extension of special invitations to certain stratas of the electorate in much the same way will sometimes give a similar effect.

A thing to guard against is repetition of method to the point of staleness. In some towns meetings are always advertised by posters. In other towns leaflets are the order of the day, and in yet others a newspaper advertisement on a certain evening or evenings is held to secure all that is necessary to fill a hall. But where handbills are exclusively used why not an occasional poster? Where newspaper advertising is customary why not sometimes a distribution of handbills to reach those who don't buy the paper? or where posters and handbills are used why not try, on occasions, a newspaper advertisement?

But the arts of publicity do not end with these orthodoxes. It is amazing how often we miss the opportunity of using one meeting as an advertisement of the next. A feeble announcement by the chairman of a coming demonstration is not so forcible as invitations distributed at the meeting. Press paragraphs on the personnel of coming speakers is another possible device, and preliminary circulars concerning the visit of coming notabilities sometimes secures excellent publicity where these circulars are sent to suitable quarters—say to clergymen, clubs, Trades Union Secretaries and the like.

Talking of publicity methods one wonders how many candidates at the late election were alive to the possibility of having their photographs locally taken and thus displayed in photographers' windows. We know of some who took this course. And it paid!

A curious lack of publicity opportunity for meetings is to be seen outside the premises of fully 50 per cent. of Labour Headquarters—and from our own observations the percentage is far higher regarding Election Committee Rooms. Surely one would expect to find announcements of coming meetings outside these premises. Unfortunately this matter is overlooked and publicity is lost both for the meetings to be advertised and for the premises themselves as the Labour centres.

In the printing one also often observes a lack of publicity instinct. The aim of all printing is to attract the reader, to hold his attention, impress certain facts upon his memory, and leave him pleased and curious.

Some advertising is simply repellent. Astigmatic lines of unnecessary matter jumbled altogether almost like a Chinese puzzle, express the soul of those who have no idea of the capacities of print or the art of advertising.

No matter what combination of paper and ink is used the draughtmanship of the bill is the first consideration. Cut out the superfluous words. Here is a specimen of the thing one often sees.

GENERAL ELECTION, 1929.
MUDDLETON PARLIAMENTARY DIVISION.

A Public

MEETING

in support of the candidature of the
Hon. B. A. BLUEBOTTLE will be held
On THURSDAY, MAY 29th, 1929

in the

BLUE BOY HOTEL MEETING
ROOM, HIGH ST., MUDDLETON

Speakers:

THE CANDIDATE

The Hon. Lady Ruby Bluebottle, Col.
the Hon. George Bluebottle, A. Muckle-
ton, Esq., B. A. Muckleton, Esq., John
Jones, Esq., David Smith, Esq., Harry
Lord Jones, Esq., B. Copper, and A.
Simpleton.

Chair to be taken at 8 p.m. by James
Muckleton, Esq.

WORK WILL WIN!

A. SIMPLETON,

Hon. Election Agent.

The above bill has all sorts of superfluties. It was quite unnecessary to mention the General Election when it

was in everybody's mouth. Observe, too, the lack of prominence to the candidate's name, and the loss of opportunity of mentioning him a second time in the handbill where he is referred to as the candidate. Observe the lack of punch in the tag at the bottom.

Below another bill is given for comparison, in which all the faults mentioned are absent.

ANOTHER MORGAN MEETING

on the

VILLAGE GREEN, MUCKLETON

WEDNESDAY, MAY 28th.

Speakers :

JOHN MORGAN

THE RIGHT HON.

GEORGE LANSBURY,
M.P.

Time : 8.0 p.m.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT HAS BEGUN
WELL—

Vide Liberal and Tory papers.

THEN SEND ANOTHER TO SUPPORT THEM
and VOTE MORGAN!!!

It is a mistake not to vary the style of one's advertisement. Where meetings come close together an announcement of one meeting is apt to be confused with the next one if the style is the same. It is all very well to point out that the names of speakers are different, but the average person gets the impression that will last in the first glance he gives at the bill. If it strikes him he has seen the bill before that impression lasts. If it strikes him it is something fresh he will read and remember. At the General Election we saw considerable collections of handbills

all done in the same style for the same campaign.

Ringling the changes may be accomplished sometimes quite simply by setting a bill or poster broadside. Here we would remind our readers that the names of some speakers can only be given the prominence desired by setting broadside.

Variation in wording is infinite, yet some people soon stereotype a few phrases. A good catch phrase may be stereotyped, but it needs to be a good one. Printing for a meeting is often unnecessarily held up because all the speakers have not been booked. We have sometimes got over the difficulty of naming speakers by announcing "Leading Labour Speakers," "Surprise Visit of a Labour M.P.," "Local Labour Leaders," and so forth, and ordinarily such an announcement is just as effective—or more so—with the general public as the names of speakers known only in the Movement.

The combination of paper and ink is, of course, important, but it is secondary to the draughtsmanship. Black ink on white paper is unattractive, and a slightly tinted paper is desirable. Vivid papers are more startling than effective, and in the main they repel. Some Parties print in their local colours and of these, red on gold, black on primrose, green on primrose, or red on white, are the commonest. It is hard to generalise on what is the most effective combination because each has disadvantages. Local people should be guided in choosing their colours for posters by what is at the time on the hoardings, and, of course, considerations of cost.

The publicity value of an illustration cannot be over-estimated, yet what a lot of literature we put out which is quite unadorned. Why on earth should not a meeting handbill bear an illustration just as much as a propaganda leaflet? But the danger lies in smothering an announcement of a meeting with too much tag or too much talk of what the meeting will deal with. Incidentally, if one's poster or handbill must carry a lot of matter don't stipulate for lines that are too deep or heavy. A well-balanced and attractive poster or handbill is possible with a fair amount of matter, but only if "plenty of white" is allowed and the types are selected with discretion.

(Continued on Page 112.)

SOME ELECTION SAMPLES.

We are indebted to a large number of our readers for the samples of election literature they have sent us. It would have given us pleasure to have been able to enumerate the good points contained in many of these samples, but considerations of space compel us to restrict mention to not more than three or four. One noteworthy feature of Labour literature at the recent election was an almost general use of election news sheets. That this weapon, so often advocated in the *Labour Organiser*, has now attained so much popularity is very gratifying.

The commonest form of election address still appears to be a quarto fly production, though in some constituencies, and notably in West Bromwich, the election address was produced in new forms. Our own view is that the style of address used by many candidates suggests that it is looked upon as a cumbersome necessity not worthy of much time or any originality. Perhaps this explains why thousands of them are never even opened. Where the printers' art is called into play and some little care spent on getting an attractive get-up the election address is still a powerful vote-puller. Much the same remarks apply to poll cards. There is a stodginess and sameness about these requisites that ought not to be, and, surely the last message to the electors is worth more brains than is usually put into it.

* * *

"See Who The Conservatives Have Done" was an effective answer on many hoardings at the late election to the stupid pretensions put forward in a Conservative poster. The Labour poster was not a Party issue and was an example of private enterprise in this connection. It was first produced by Coun. Bram. Longstaffe of Barrow-in-Furness, agent to Mr. John Bromley, M.P. It was then reproduced in the *Daily Herald* and then simply demanded by other candidates all over the country. There is nothing pedantic in the grammar of the headline, but there was a power of punch in the poster. Some people go very wrong in their estimation of what a poster should contain and are apt to dogmatise to the effect that every poster should contain but little matter. This view ignores the

A. Gestetner's Duplicators

printed
830,000

**ELECTION BULLETINS
IN TWO HOURS
from 58 Centres in
Great Britain and
Ireland**

*No other Duplicator has
hitherto accomplished this
feat*

*"Every Local, every Trade
Union Branch, every Ward
Party, should have its own
duplicating machine. If you
can afford it, get a self-
feeding Rotary machine."*

—LANSBURY'S LABOUR
WEEKLY.

*Ask for details of our
HIRE PURCHASE TERMS*

A. Gestetner Ltd

DEPARTMENT "L"

37 Ludgate Hill, E.C.4

Telephone: HOLBORN 0142
(6 lines)

pulling powers of one or two catch-lines designed to bring the passerby to a standstill and induce him to read what the poster contains. Given good draughtmanship and a strong case the well equipped printer is able to produce a poster that will be read notwithstanding that there is "plenty on it." Hence there were hundreds and thousands who read the Barrow poster and, we believe, profited thereby.

* * *

The Rt. Hon. F. O. Roberts, M.P., and his agent, Mr. Albert Guest, have not yet escaped mention at any election in regard to the excellence and originality of the literature produced. 1929 has proved no exception, and once again the standard of election literature generally has been raised as a result of the experience and originality of these two experts in the art of printing.

Mr. Roberts' Election Address was just the departure from the stilted and stereotyped orthodox sermon which we have long desired to see. Probably less costly than previous productions it is nevertheless pointed, original and well printed, and the illustrations pull. We have yet to see an Election Address of any Party more dignified and at the same time more vote-compelling than F.O.'s latest address to the electors.

* * *

The window card at West Bromwich was also effective and decidedly original. It contained a photo of the Houses of Parliament and of the candidate with a surround of Labour red and a bold line "ROBERTS" at the foot.

The poll card was another effective novelty which we shall endeavour to reproduce next month. An illustration of the envelope in which the election address was distributed is reproduced on our middle pages. This envelope of course was not used for the free postage.

* * *

"A Mother's message to Mothers" may not be an uncommon stunt, but the message of Mrs. Cove to the mothers of Aberavon illustrated by a photograph of herself and three children was quite the best thing of its kind we have seen. It was dignified and telling without savouring of the sentimental. The message was produced in English and Welsh, and the get-up was good and suitable.

* * *

At Crewe the Labour workers were asked to "Clock on and Vote early for

Bowen." Apparently they did so. This is the front of the poll card.

Crewe General Election, May 30th, 1929

"CLOCK ON" AND "VOTE"
EARLY for

BOWEN

The Labour Candidate.

DAY	IN	OUT	IN	OUT	TOTAL
a.m.					
SUN					
p.m.					
a.m.					
M					
p.m.					
a.m.					
T					
p.m.					
a.m.					
W					
p.m.					
7 a.m.					
Th					
9 p.m.					
a.m.					
F					
p.m.					
a.m.					
S					
p.m.					

BOWEN X

YOU VOTE AT

OAKHANGER MOSS SCHOOL

Between 7 a.m. and 9 p.m.

Your Number is:

No. 3

Kindly give this slip to our number taker at the polling station door, this saves us from calling on you later.

The reverse of the poll card is printed below.

* * *

A Bit of Paper.

Just a little bit of paper, and a tiny cross,
Not much—but just the difference between a gain or loss.

It can lend a hand to freedom and give
old Mammon shocks,
Can that little bit of paper when you
drop it in the box.

There is virtue, life, and progress in
that little printed square,
If you take the cross of Labour and
plant it boldly there;
There is food for hungry children, hope
for workers on the rocks.
Strength for men and rest for women,
when you drop it in the box.

There is death to feudal privilege, to
selfishness and greed,
There is sunshine for the darkened
slums, and help for those in need;
There are visions of a future that the
present vainly mocks,
In that little bit of paper when you
put it in the box.

(tear here)

You have ONE vote. If you spoil
your paper please ask for another.

NOTE—Polling Hours 7 a.m. to 9 p.m.

* * *

The scurrilous attack by Mr. Lloyd
George upon Dr. Addison during the
election was well answered by the elec-
tors of the Swindon Division. We also
have in our hands a leaflet that was
put out by the agent, Mr. H. N. Dun-
stan White, during the election. Very
official looking and printed on official
blue a foolscap sheet has been folded to
fit the ordinary foolscap envelope. The
endorsement on the outside of the
Document is just "Documentary Evi-
dence." This we find consists of
ungarnished facts given without com-
ment carrying the Doctor's record as a
Member of Parliament over sixteen
years.

* * *

Quite the best parody for an election
song also came from Swindon. This is
the only election song we can find space
to reproduce.

Tune "MEN OF HARLECH."

Swindon workers all uniting,
For the Cause of Labour fighting,
March, your comrades all inviting,
Onward to the Poll!

Shout this slogan through the nation;
Better housing, education,
Work, or ample sustentation:
Not a meagre dole.

Chorus—

Forward on your mission,
Rout the opposition,
Make a stand
Throughout the land,
To better its condition;
Our opponents ranks are shaken,
E'en their strongholds can be taken,
If ye, fired with zeal awaken:—
Labour will control.

Millions of our wealthy nation,
On the verge of grim starvation,
Live in idle degradation

Numbing heart and soul
Not safeguarding or derating
Ends the trade slump, devastating,
List not to their foolish prating,
Meant but to cajole.

Chorus

* * *

"Promise collecting" at an election
can take many forms, all of which are
supplementary to the ordinary canvass.
The latest idea comes from Barrow-in-
Furness, and it is to get workers to
jot down the names of the converts or
promises they get and keep sending in
these "nails in the Tory coffin." We
can imagine the sheer delight some
workers took in this task. Below is a
card showing how it works.

6 Nails for the Tory Coffin

1	4
Name	Name
Address	Address
2	5
Name	Name
Address	Address
3	6
Name	Name
Address	Address

Cross off as you secure each capture.

Dear Mr. Bromley,

I have secured the above Tories to vote Labour — 6 Nails for the Tory Coffin!

Signed

Address

(When completed, forward to Mr. Bromley.)

* * *

Last, but not least, there was a "Clearance Sale" at Rugby of Liberal and Tory stock, which the result certainly shows to have fallen very considerably. We believe the handbill was really the bright idea of some other

friends in a London constituency, but not knowing the authors we are unable to suitably acknowledge.

(Continued from Page 108.)

In buying newspaper space the rule is buy plenty and don't use it all. Newspaper advert copy must be drafted with an eye to what the newspaper ordinarily contains on the page where the advertisement will appear. The aim should be to catch the eye first. Give all the particulars expected. Don't say "See smaller announcements," meaning see handbills, which many readers will never see. It is better to give all the particulars or refer to posters which actually do give them and are actually posted.

(To be continued.)

LADIES LOOK!

The Greatest

CLEARANCE SALE

Ever known in this District
will be held on

THURSDAY, JUNE 13th

Doors open at 8 a.m., closed 9 p.m.

When the entire

Bankrupt Stock of the Liberals & Tories

must be cleared out at all cost in order to make room for
the **NEWEST GOODS** which the people of Rugby and
District demand.

CHILDREN'S LINES

Food and Good Education

WOMEN'S LINES

No Taxes on Food Security at Home

MEN'S LINES

Regular Employment and Good Wages

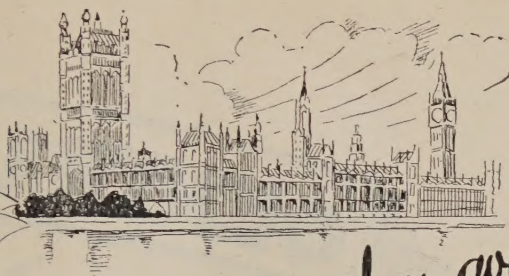
Come early before the rush and secure these Great BARGAINS
by VOTING for the LABOUR CANDIDATE.

MORGAN and the Labour Government

Can supply the Goods you need

So vote for Morgan.

Remember every Vote for the Liberal is a Vote against the
Labour Government.



Your member goes
to
Parliament
on
propaganda.

Propagate with

K

MODEL

DUPLICATOR

Write for full particulars :

Ellam's
DUPLICATOR
COMPANY LIMITED

12, KING STREET, CHEAPSIDE
LONDON, E.C. 2





The above is an illustration of the front of the envelope



and the election address of the Rt. Hon. F. O. Roberts.

SOME KNOTTY POINTS DISCUSSED

In the following article we deal with several points of general interest on which enquiries reached us during the election. Some of the situations presented are novel and have not previously been dealt with in our columns.

Meetings and Canvassing on Polling Day.

Ridiculous as it may seem to some people quite a number of persons appear to be under the impression that meetings on polling day are taboo and that there is some provision against them, as also against door to door canvassing on that day.

One wonders how anyone could be imbued with these ideas, yet we have met them on several occasions. Not only is canvassing on polling day permissible but a big drive through the constituency is a most desirable thing, if it can be accomplished. As to meetings on polling day why on earth should they not be held? The only ground which we can discover for anybody's doubt is an occurrence many years ago in a northern constituency where a procession of miners operated in such a manner as to lead to charges of intimidation. Meetings should not, of course, be held immediately outside polling booths, nor in any place or manner as to lead to the risk or threat of intimidation to any individual or body of voters. Beyond this precaution there is nothing more to be said, though obviously outdoor meetings are the only sort of gatherings that would be practicable or useful in any constituency.

Reward for Detection of Offender.

Certain defamatory statements were being circulated concerning a candidate. The latter desired to issue a public announcement offering a reward for the detection of the originator of the statements complained of. The point at issue was whether the offer of such reward was contrary to any provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act and whether if paid it would rank as election expenses. The question also arose whether the cost of issuing such an announcement by posters, leaflets or newspaper advertisement would be an election expense.

The publication of any false statement of fact in relation to the personal character or conduct of any candidate is now an illegal practice, provided the person making the statement is unable to prove that he had reasonable grounds for believing the statement to be true.

An aggrieved candidate has several courses open to him and his course will depend upon whether a defamatory libel has been published or merely a false statement of fact. The publisher of a defamatory libel may be either prosecuted or sued for damages. The non-defamatory traducer may be dealt with under the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act, 1895. If a candidate elects to proceed under the latter Act he may besides instituting a prosecution restrain the offender by injunction of the High Court from any repetition of the false statement.

It is nowhere laid down that the expenses of a candidate in defending his character, even though taken during an election, are to be treated as election expenses. Nor do we think it was ever contemplated that a libeller should, in addition to the harm done by the repetition of his libel, be able further to cripple his opponent by landing him in expenses which would prevent him spending otherwise on his election. We are satisfied that the expenses of a prosecution would not be election expenses.

The expenses of finding the offender and securing a prosecution are conceivably on a different plane. But if kept entirely from other election expenses, they are in our opinion in no way a part of them. The payment of a reward would not be an election expense nor in ordinary circumstances would the cost of announcing the offer of this reward be an election expense.

It is, however, conceivable that a candidate could so involve his offer of reward with a defence of himself as to make the announcement virtually an election publication. In such case the expense should certainly be returned.

The Acts of a Treacherous Agent.

A candidate recently remarked that so far as he could see the law placed himself and other candidates far too

much in the hands of their election agents, and he asked our advice as to what remedy a candidate possessed if the agent deliberately set himself to commit an act which would unseat him if elected.

We cannot say that we accept the opinion that the law places the candidate too much in the hands of his agent. In order to prevent the commission of Corrupt and Illegal Practices it has been laid down that certain contracts and payments must be made through the election agent. The relationship of master and man where it exists has not been destroyed thereby, and a candidate who employs an agent is still able to control the latter's acts. But in practice the relationship of master and man by no means always exists, particularly in the Labour Party. The agent is often, in fact, the trustee of Party funds, and responsible ultimately for his expenditure to his Party, and not to his candidate. There are certainly many aspects of the relationship between candidate and agent that call for the exercise of considerable tact from both sides. But where confidence exists the law as it stands works admirably for the protection of the candidate and at the same time the safety of the Party's good name and funds.

It is quite an erroneous supposition that a candidate is in the hands of an unscrupulous agent who deliberately sets himself out to do something that would unseat his candidate if elected. The agent in such case not only must suffer the penalty of his acts but by a decision of the Judges the candidate is not responsible for corrupt acts done with a view to betray him. This much was decided in the Stafford Election Petition heard very many years ago.

The Printer's Imprint.

Some excited enquiries reached us during the election concerning omissions of the printer's imprint on various documents. The idea that the printer's imprint must "go on everything" is very general, and as a practice it is not a bad one, though it is not the law. Mr. Stanley Baldwin's appeal from 10 Downing Street on a half sheet of notepaper, reproduced with the Royal Arms and no imprint, gave many of our comrades a shock. Other Tory M.P.s, notably Mr. Neville Chamberlain, also issued circulars to the elec-

tors in the form of a personal letter without an imprint. And this is all very disconcerting to the man who puts an imprint on his letter heading and wonders if he wants it on his wrapping paper.

Section 18 of the C.I.P.P.A. stipulates that every "bill, placard or poster" having reference to an election shall bear upon the face thereof the name and address of the printer and publisher.

But what is a bill, placard or poster? Writing paper and envelopes used for ordinary correspondence are certainly outside the scope of these terms. It has even been held that a candidate's election address requires no imprint, though because of the general misunderstanding concerning the actual requirements and for certain other obvious reasons, the imprint should always be put upon the address. In the Oxford Election (Petition (1924) the Court declined to say that a post card was a bill, placard or poster.

As to Mr. Baldwin's circular there is a decision of the Judges that a circular produced in letter form on ordinary note paper is *not* a bill, placard or poster. But we should not like to advise our readers to take too many liberties with this statement of the law. The decision in the Barrow-in-Furness case just quoted is a very thin one and it applied to a circular issued by a candidate in his own constituency. Mr. Baldwin's Downing Street message might not have been a "bill" if confined to the electors of the Bewdley Division, but lithographed and distributed all over the country this message was in our opinion a "Bill" within the meaning of the Act.

As the law stands a duplicated circular letter produced in customary letter form does not require an imprint, but directly one acts upon this border line cases crop up. If these circulars or addresses cease to be individual messages and workers distribute them broadcast, they become in our opinion "bills" within the meaning of the Section; and so the dividing line breaks down. Equally while some post cards may be innocuous it is easy to imagine matter printed on post cards that no amount of naïveté could excuse as not being "bills." Therefore we get back to the practice which we have said is good—to put the imprint on everything—except, of course, the most obviously unnecessary things.

Joint Candidatures.

One of our correspondents is an election agent whose campaign has been run in close co-operation with that of an adjoining constituency. The agent desires to know whether this circumstance can be held to have involved the two candidates concerned in a joint candidature, thus reducing the total amount which might be spent on the two elections. Our correspondent also asks whether joint candidatures can now only occur in double-barrelled constituencies.

The point is governed by part 5 of the first Schedule of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act, 1883, which reads as follows:—

"Where there are two or more joint candidates at an election the maximum amount of expenses mentioned in Parts III. and IV. of this Schedule shall, for each of such joint candidates, be reduced by one-fourth or if there are more than two joint candidates by one-third.

"Where the same election agent is appointed by or on behalf of two or more candidates at an election, or where two or more candidates by themselves or any agent or agents, hire or use the same committee rooms for such election, or employ or use the services of the same sub-agents, clerks, messengers, or polling agents at such election, or publish a joint address or joint circular or notice at such election, those candidates shall be deemed for purposes of this enactment to be joint candidates at such election.

"Provided that—

(a) The employment and use of the same committee room, sub-agent, clerk, messenger, or polling agent, if accidental or casual, or of a trivial and unimportant character, shall not be deemed of itself to constitute persons joint candidates.

(b) Nothing in this enactment shall prevent candidates from ceasing to be joint candidates.

(c) Where any excess of expenses above the maximum allowed for one or two or more joint candidates has arisen owing to his having ceased to be a joint candidate, or to his having become a joint candidate after having begun to conduct his election as a separate candidate, and such ceasing or beginning was in good faith, and such excess is not more than under the circumstances is reasonable, and the total expenses of such candidate do not exceed the maximum allowed

for a separate candidate, such excess shall be deemed to have arisen from a reasonable cause within the meaning of the enactments respecting the allowance by the High Court or election court of an exception from the provisions of this Act which would otherwise make an act an illegal practice, and the candidate and his election agent may be relieved accordingly from the consequences of having incurred such excess of expenses."

We have quoted the above enactment in full because the conditions which create a joint candidature do not appear to be generally understood. It will be noted that the Act says that where certain conditions exist or certain things are done "at an election" the candidates shall be deemed to be joint candidates. The words "at an election" appear to us to apply to a General Election and not only to a single Borough or County, whether "double-barrelled" or "divided." In this view we are supported by the definition of the word "election" which is contained in Section 64 of the Act.

Is This an Election Expense?

A certain Labour Party whose activities cover a number of constituencies has, during the recent contest, held a big central meeting which all the candidates in the area indicated were invited to attend. The question arises whether the cost of this meeting was an election expense and if so what method should be adopted to secure its inclusion in the return of election expenses.

In reply to this query there are two points of interest worth recapitulation. In the first place no one other than the election agent of a candidate must expend money in organising meetings connected with the conduct and management of an election unless authorised in writing by the agent to do so. And in the second place we have always held that every political activity at the time of an election, or prior to it, is not necessarily an act in connection with "the conduct and management of the election"; and that political Parties are quite at liberty to pursue their normal work of education and propaganda during an election provided they can do so, and at the same time keep clear of too definite associations with a particular candidate. The reason greater advantage is not taken of this liberty is

merely that the risks of exercising it are so great.

Assuming that the election agents prior to the above-mentioned meeting assented to same and authorised its expenses, this fact alone definitely settles the matter as an expense connected with the conduct and management of the election of the several candidates concerned. Probably this incidental and casual association would not create a situation such as would cause the candidates to be deemed joint candidates. But there are certain points concerning the election return to be observed. It would not in our opinion be sufficient for the agents to say they authorised a certain person or Party to conduct a meeting and that their share of the expenses of same amounted to a certain figure returning only the latter sum in their declaration. Details are required—we think details of the whole of the expenses should be filed in each case, and the statement should show the amount that has been contributed by other agents.

But there is the alternative suggestion that this meeting was not connected with the conduct and management of the election of anybody in particular, and that it was a normal and legitimate expense borne by a central organisation. We think there is sound ground for this contention, though the exigencies of the situation may require that the previously mentioned course be taken. We cannot accept an assumption that the national political Parties, or the organisations responsible for lesser or greater regional areas are unable, during an election, to organise meetings at which leaders should speak on the general policies and aspects of the election. This was never the intention of Parliament. If every meeting held during an election is to rank as somebody's election expense, great central demonstrations will in future be out of the question.

The Rummy Rugby Election.

Quite a crop of correspondents have written us asking for an explanation of the date fixed for the polling in this election.

The dates for polling in all elections were originally fixed by Rule 14 of the first Schedule to the Ballot Act. The dates here found are those fixed by the Returning Officer not being in the case of a County Division less than two nor more than six clear days, or in the case of a Borough Division more than three

clear days after the date of nomination.

The Representation of the People Act, 1918, revised these dates and the dates fixed by Section 21 of the latter Act were (1) at a General Election the ninth day after the day of nomination, and (2) in the case of a By-Election whether for a County Division or a Borough Division, not less than four days nor more than eight clear days after the day fixed for nomination.

A proviso of Section 21 provided that these dates should not apply in the case of proceedings on the death of a candidate, and in such case therefore the original Ballot Act rule still remained in force.

In 1920 the R.P. No. 2 Act of that year made further alterations. The day fixed for nominations in Boroughs was altered and the day fixed for polling in the case of a Parliamentary By-election was altered to "not less than six nor more than eight clear days after the date fixed for nomination." It was enacted that Rule 14 of the Ballot Act and subsection (1) of Section 21 of the R.P. 1918 Act, "should be modified accordingly."

It will be noted that nothing is said about the proviso concerning proceedings on the death of a candidate, and the ruling of the Home Office is that this proviso still remains in force and that therefore the original wording of Rule 14 applies. The dates for the Rugby Election were fixed accordingly.

The Home Office ruling while settling the point conclusively so far as this election is concerned is by no means incapable of challenge. It can well be argued that the 1920 Act modified the Ballot Act absolutely, and accepting the opinion that the proviso, which has been mentioned, still remained in force, the acceptance of the view we are now submitting would throw us back to the altered dates, *ie.*, the Act as modified. This would make the dates the same either for a By-Election or for the proceedings on the death of a candidate. In support of this view it may be pointed out that two of the leading textbooks now print the Ballot Act with Rule 14 as amended by the 1920 Act, and the conclusion to be drawn from this action on the part of the learned authors is that the Act in their opinion does stand amended or modified.

The point we have argued above would have been very important in the Rugby election for, instead of the polling taking place on Thursday the 17th inst., the altered date would have

brought us to Monday the 17th, or Tuesday the 18th—a very considerable advantage to the Labour candidate.

The Plural Vote at the Rugby Election.

The point as to whether "proceedings on the death of a candidate" at a General Election are to take the status of a By-election or are to be regarded as an extension of the General Election is of some importance in relation to the plural vote.

At a By-election any qualified voter may exercise one vote in the constituency regardless of any qualification the voter possesses elsewhere or any vote he may have cast elsewhere. But at a General Election a voter may exercise one vote only in respect of a residence qualification, and one vote only (which must be in another constituency) in respect of some other kind of qualification.

The Rugby election was generally conceded to be an extension of the General Election, and in such case a number of out voters would be limited in their right to vote. This note is written before the polling, and the point is being presented to the Returning Officer.

Expenses and Postponed Polling.

Yet a further point arises out of the Rugby Election. As our readers are aware no date is fixed for the commencement of a candidate's election expenses. It would be interesting to know how much of the permitted maximum expense was spent by the Liberal and Tory candidates prior to the recommencement of proceedings.

The argument that these candidates could begin to spend all over again is entirely untenable, for the continuation of their candidature was obvious and the expenses previously incurred were certainly in respect of the conduct and management of the election which took place. This may seem hard lines in view of the fact that the new candidate could certainly not be held to be responsible for expenses incurred by the late candidate. But the law seems very clear upon this subject, and if amendment is needed such alteration of the law ought not to be anticipated by breaking the existing provisions.

There is, however, one precedent we can recall for rather different circumstances. In 1923 a By-election was in progress at Warwick. Unexpectedly Mr. Bonar Law's Government appealed

to the country and the Home Office issued instructions that the election was cancelled and no return was to be made to the writ. We believe that on this occasion the returning officer applied to the Home Office for instructions as to whether he should accept a return of expenses from the candidates and our recollection is that the Home Office very properly considered no return was necessary as the election had been cancelled and not proceeded with.

In this case there was an entirely different set of circumstances to a mere postponement of the poll. The candidates had incurred expenses in relation to a particular election, and had declared themselves candidates for that election. That election was cancelled and a writ for a new Parliament was issued. The candidates had not declared themselves candidates for a new Parliament or for a General Election and in actual fact there was a definite halt in the proceedings and a re-selection of the candidates for the new situation. In such case it is our opinion that much of the expense incurred in respect of the abortive election would not be expenses chargeable against the General Election accounts.

Let the **BLACKFRIARS PRESS** *help you!*

We can help you. Give us the chance to prove to you that for good printing, at reasonable prices and with quick despatch, Labour can hold its own in trade as well as in politics. Send us your enquiries.



THE
BLACKFRIARS PRESS Ltd.
SMITH-DORRIEN ROAD,
LEICESTER

Phone 27164 W. W. Borrett, Manager

PUBLIC SPEAKING AND DEBATE.**Some Gems From Holycake.**

Habitually audible and accurate speech will make it easy to speak in public. What anyone does well in daily life, he will do well in public, and have confidence that he can do it well. Well or ill, everybody is making short speeches in business or conversation, and a public speech is but the expansion or multiplication of short speeches.

No one has a right to speak unless he has something to say, and he has no right to say it publicly unless it is publicly important, and what it is publicly important to say should be said so distinctly and audibly that the public present can hear it.

"Liar" means that a person says what is not true and knows it to be untrue, and that he consciously and deliberately says what he does say with a view to deceive. "Liar" is a favourite epithet with the lowest class of opponents. It puts a man who uses it out of any court save a court of law. No court of honour would adjudicate upon it. It should be referred to a court of scavengers, whose business it would be to remove it. The term is not a matter of taste; it is a breach of the peace, and would be resented by a blow, or a duel, or contempt, which would keep him inexorably at a distance who used it. If a man thought his adversary was not to be believed on his word he might say so. But then he puts an end to the controversy, which it is useless to continue when one disputant does not believe what the other says. It is like cheating at cards. The playing is over as soon as the charge of cheating is made.

To charge an opponent with "quibbling" is to say he knows the truth is against him, and that he seeks to evade it. To accuse an adversary of "garbling" is equally offensive. It means that he knowingly quotes what gives a false impression. It is lawful to warn an opponent that what he imputes to you, you regard as insulting; but to charge him with insulting you is to charge him with an intentional outrage upon you, and if he be a person of self-respect he will not hold further intercourse with one while he persists in the charge. A "falsehood" is not

only something untrue, but known to be untrue by the teller. If it is not intended to imply this, the statement must be described as untrue, erroneous, or founded on misinformation.

If men understood half the trouble there is in making out what the truth really is, and half the trouble there is in making it plain to others, so that they cannot possibly misunderstand it, there would not be half the anger or half the wonder there now is, when one person differs from another in opinion—and more hesitancy in applying disparaging epithets upon first impressions.

Next to those who talk as though they would never come to the point, are a class of bores who talk as though they did not know what the point was. Before they have proceeded far in telling a story, they stumble upon some Mr. 'What's-his-name,' whom they have forgotten, and, though it does not matter whether he had a name or not, the narrative is made to stand still until they have gone through the tiresome and fruitless task of trying to remember the name—in which they never succeed.

It never occurs to some people that gaiety of mind is a charm on the platform as well as in the household. They do not understand that cheerfulness is a duty towards others, and tells upon an audience as well as upon friends. The grave are always dull. They belong to the charnel-house side of life. Others have hedgehog manners, and prick all who approach them. Hedgehogs are good roasted, but nobody thinks of embracing one in its natural state.

Taste is a part of good oratory, and is no mean equipment of a great speaker. No man goes far in a speech without betraying to the auditor his coarseness or refinement. A man may be an orator without taste and command of applause, but he never commands respect without it. An orator may ruin a cause by a single phrase.

There is reason to believe that the greatest masters of oratory have been sensible of the value of, and have practised premeditation. It is only the young, would-be speaker who expects to be great without effort, or whose vanity leads him to impose upon others the

belief that he is perfect at will—and needs no preparation. Gather relevant knowledge anywhere. Every man is indebted to others for much information.

Humanity is the instrument upon which the orator has to play, and he had better learn what notes it is capable of before he begins. Experience in Parliament and on the platform will soon teach any observer, that few speakers are worth hearing who do not prepare, and prepare carefully, what they want to say.

Repetition has its uses and necessities, and is excellent in a speaker, provided he does not repeat himself. Few persons, as a rule, ever understand any new thing on its first saying. It is by many repetitions in many forms that a new idea is comprehended. Leaders of opinion, even of the soberer sort, have within my knowledge been so captivated by reason, as to overlook the conditions under which reason acts. They have been so moved when the reason of a thing has become plain to them, that they have had no doubt that all men could be at once convinced by the same exposition of the facts. The processes of education should have taught them differently.

Reiteration, without tiresomeness, is not only an advantage but a force. One who knew all things pertaining to the art of persuasion, wrote:—

Truth can never be confirmed enough,
Though doubt itself were dead.

An orator has everything for his purpose when he has stature, voice and sense. Bulk, however, imposing, does not conquer unless mind goes with it. A great voice commands attention, but does not keep it unless there is quality in the thing said. To cite Mr. Bright's sarcasm on one of these loud-voiced, idea-less orators, 'He speaks extremely well, if you do not listen to what he says.'

—From *Holyoake's Public Speaking and Debate*.

Well done Derby! We understand that the Derby Labour Party sold 5,000 of the MacDonald pencils within one week, and have found it necessary to order another 5,000, which were disposed of at an amazing rate.

After the Election

You will want to

*Carry on the
Good Work*

Let us help you with that

**MONTHLY
NEWS SHEET**

What our customers say :

"Yesterday we held a meeting of the Committee responsible for the paper, and complete satisfaction was expressed with the work of your firm. We are pleased with the issue." (Cannock Chase Div. L.P. 21/4/29).

"We have been congratulated all round on the excellence of our first paper, which is due in no small measure to the way the paper is printed and the well displayed columns." (Eccles Div. L.P. 27/4/29).

Our Speciality:

4 and 8 page Demy folio.

PRIZE DRAW BOOKS
from 6/6 per 1000 tickets,
numbered.

**J. S. REYNOLDS
AND CO., LTD.**

The Labour Printers
RIPLEY, DERBYS.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

(held over from last month).

Question. We are not a very large Party but we have plenty of local support, and the Trades Unionists in the district attend our meetings in good strength and frequently offer themselves for work during the election. We are then troubled because the workers who come in do not understand what to do, and on our side we do not know what they can do. Can you suggest anything to help us in this difficulty?

Answer. The obvious thing is to so extend the membership of the Party as to bring the volume of support outside the Party into the fold. Our friends do not say whether the Trades Unions are affiliated or whether the ward and polling district committees are formed, and it is certainly an undesirable position that there should be a small Party and

outside of it a large Trades Union membership. Our friends should direct their energies to intensive work among the Trades Unions all the year round, and if the names of Trades Unionists can be secured from the Branch secretaries a canvass of them should take place.

An expedient worth trying at the coming election would be to issue a large number of the promise cards reproduced below, which is an adaptation of a device previously illustrated in these pages. Five hundred of these cards were recently distributed by Coun. T. Roper, Labour Agent in the East Nottingham Division, and he tells us that within three days 124 were returned duly filled in. Mr. Roper has made good use of the information and possesses a tabular chart of these promises which shows at a glance what workers will undertake. This card will help to meet our friend's case.

EAST NOTTINGHAM DIVISION LABOUR PARTY

I am putting a **X** opposite what I shall do in the General Election.

This Card is no use at home	Report to Committee Room as soon as opened	
	Will Distribute Literature	
	Will do Canvassing	
Write your Name and Address, put your X's and slip it in the Letter Box	Will help all Day on Polling Day	
	Will Address Outdoor Meetings	
	Will fold Election Addresses, etc., at Home	
	Will do any work in Committee Room	
	Will address Envelopes at Home after January 24th, 1929	

Name

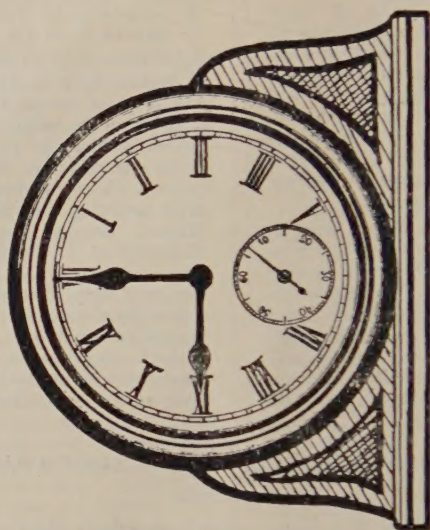
Address

THANK YOU !

A BRAIN-WAVE FROM BILSTON

(Agent : MR. SAM HAGUE)

Before the Clock
Strikes



Remember to
Vote for **BAKER**

YOU WILL NEED A HOLIDAY AFTER THE ELECTION

The W.T.A. stands alone as the only T.U. Travel Agency and offers unrivalled opportunities for really enjoyable and inexpensive holidays in all parts of Europe. Each of its numerous centres in Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, Spain, etc., have a resident English host and a programme of conducted excursions during the season. A complete travel service is available for those who desire to travel or tour independently; hotels are notified, itineraries prepared and tickets supplied to every part of the world. Home Holidays may be booked at any seaside resorts through the W.T.A., but all tastes and purses are economically catered for at the many W.T.A. centres, situated in chosen spots throughout the British Isles. Send a postcard for free literature on holidays at Home or Abroad.

THE SIGN OF



A GOOD TIME

THE WORKERS' TRAVEL ASSOCIATION, LIMITED,

112, Transport House, SMITH SQUARE,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.1

Phone : Victoria 7916 (4 lines).

City Branch : 59, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.4.